/46 cont./

857 462 [222] [482] iguarayas, and trupillo pods, as well as in gathering divi-divi, which is sold in the port towns for export; their labor is used for portering (women's work): they carry on their backs or shoulders the collected fruit, the firewood, and the water when the family does not own the necessary animals.

When ten or over the girl, taught by her elder kinswomen, starts to handle the spindle and loom, work in which she perfects herself during the seclusion of her initiation.

857 184 556 In general her occupations during childhood are affected by the economic and social position of her relatives, since a child of a well-to-do family will spend her childhood playing, without occupying herself with domestic chores except occasionally, since she is not considered as a small-sized adult as happens among poor families, but as a little girl, and she is treated as such. Certain light duties might be imposed but never a definite or clear-cut responsibility. She is expected to obey, mainly so that she recognize the authority of her elders, but when she enters the prepubertal age her mother and relatives start to take a more personal interest in her and to think it to be the opportune time to start training her in the duties pertaining to her position and her sex, teaching her all the household occupations that she will later improve on and become expert in during her seclusion, which will last longer the greater the wealth of the family.

264 592 Food, sleep, dress, and ornaments. Even before weaning, when this is delayed beyond the first year, or at times before, the child starts being fed adult food. By that time he asks his mother for food and she gives it to him, when he is small, more generously than she can at a later date; but later on he himself looks for it and, in order to satisfy his hunger, frequently steals food from his mother that she has put away, and this obliges the mother to hide it. (Cf. Punishment, Chap. II.)

The apportioning of food in a Guajiro household is done by the mother, who serves each one his share, starting with the husband, afterward the children, she being the last to eat. If she has a preference for a child, she shows it at this time by

/46 cont./

264 592 giving him a portion that is larger and better than the others, which is grumbled at and envied by the rest. When there are numerous daughters and only one boy in the family, he is the favored one and, in the absence of the father, is served in his place on the dishes the father customarily uses for his food and is served first as is done with /47/ the latter. When there are several sons these privileges go to the eldest. When food is scarce the elders are the first to get it, and whatever remains is divided among the children of middle years. The same occurs when there are special dishes, which the children may occasionally taste if the father or uncle gives them some. But usually there is not enough for the child; when he grows up and is a man he will have his share of these special dishes. This makes the boys envious, and they will snatch whatever one of them may receive, or the eldest will leave the smallest without food after having eaten his share as quickly as possible, and it also explains the theft of food and provisions in spite of the punishments inflicted by the mother, which have been enumerated in another section.

Should the child have a noticeable liking for a certain kind of food, the mother indulges him when possible, giving him a larger portion of it, but this behavior cannot always be repeated as the boy must learn to eat everything, as it is not possible for him to be allowed to eat just the food he considers most appetizing. Furthermore, each child has his own dishes and cutlery for eating, such as gourd plates and spoons, etc., which he recognizes and insists on being served from. These articles are usually their private property.

[415 422]

862 The child of middle years shares fully in adult food by gradual change from his infant diet after weaning and by the adequate rationing of his new foods, so that his organism becomes accustomed to them and more readily assimilates them. First of all, the mother's milk is replaced by goat's milk and later by thin mazamorra prepared with a little milk, until he gets only this. They gradually feed him the various kinds of

/161 cont./

768 or later on if it is impossible at that moment. Sometimes, if the person died tragically, the house is burned. The reason given for this custom is that the illness was produced by an evil spirit which from then onward takes up residence there, taking possession of the house and able to continue killing the rest of the occupants. At the present time this custom is generally reduced to abandoning the habitation that the dead man occupied. They believe that at night one can feel lamentations there and that the spirit of the dead person frequently returns to that place to show his unrest if his relatives have forgotten him in the special cult of the dead. The tragic character of the case is accentuated when the person died violently in that place, in which case the house is definitely abandoned, because the frequent repetition of the scene during the night would make it impossible to live there. When the death occurred as the result of /162/ illness, and the house is not abandoned, if another member of the family should die in [787] it of the same sickness, then it is absolutely necessary that they leave it, as to them it is a clear indication that the spirits of that sickness also reside in the house and sooner or later will kill off all its occupants. /163/

X

THE SMALL FAMILY

● 592 836 Nowadays the Guajiro man and woman have their first sexual experiences very early, more or less toward the age of ten, but formal marriage is later for the men than the women. Premarital sex relations are casual events. The man may continue them sometimes to a more advanced age, but these also are occasional and their consequences -- pregnancy -- may

/163 cont./

592 836 lead him to pay for abuse or to marriage. In these days prostitution of the Guajiro woman frees the man from these legal dangers and gives him, as it does to bachelors in our society, free access to women before marriage without the attendant unfavorable consequences of previous times.

592 582 The Guajiro man marries for the first time at an age that varies between seventeen and the maximum of twenty-five, an age which coincides with his economic independence from the family nucleus. With his own livestock and with the gifts he receives from his relatives, he buys a woman but remains in debt to his family until he can repay them by the sale of the first of his daughters in marriage. Once his wife has been handed over, he begins his marital life, (some times, when the marriage has been by abduction, he starts beforehand), traditionally in the maternal home from which place, as the [591] family increases, the new cell will move to the father's hamlet /ranchería/ where the young couple will build their own home, or they will make it in the wife's hamlet.

592 611 602 The first child of this union is born, as a general rule, at the wife's home, that is, in that of her maternal relatives, and the mother is attended by her mother or her aunts, or by her grandmother in the maternal line, or when these are not available, by her married sisters. Nowadays the services of a midwife are employed. This child belongs to the maternal house as it is of their blood, since the mother is the one who transmits this quality, and even if the birth of the child is not preceded by a union legal in the concept of the Guajiro, the consanguineous tie does not differ in its transmission. It is always the mother who transmits this characteristic, and being hers and in no /164/ way counting on the father, the child not only takes the maternal surname but is also included within the kinship circle to which his mother belongs. Thus we have:

1. His legitimate feminine ascendants are his mother, maternal grandmother, and maternal great-grandmother, etc.

2. Also, the maternal aunts in different degrees are his relatives.

/165 cont./

596 activities in general. After the uncle, the function of authority falls to the mother. They, uncle and mother, on occasion make decisions together after prior consultation and agreement, but if there should be a difference of opinion the uncle's decision prevails. After these comes the authority of the children, which also runs in chronological order and by sex. First is the authority of the eldest son, since in case there are several daughters /born/ before a son, the authority will be exercised by the latter no matter what his position in the family is in order /166/ of arrival into the world.

The female descendants in the mother's line also have much authority, and their opinions are listened to and given attention, and the mother's sisters, after the maternal uncle, are the most respected and exercise considerable influence over the nieces, especially at the time of their initiation and during the arrangement of their purchase as brides. The mother's aunts and her female cousins, generally called aunts, may be listened to, especially when some one of them holds a preferential position within the family or within the culture.

592 In the home the authority for the general organization of the administrative life rests in the wife. She should impose her will and be responsible for the decisions she makes. She exercises control over her children, nephews and nieces, servants, slaves, and hired help /criados/, organizing their work and being responsible for their conduct: This authority is more extensive when the economic and social position of the woman is higher, as those of the upper class have around them a larger staff and an endless number of relatives other than their own children, nephews and nieces, over all of whom they must impose their authority. Also, in the case of the first wife, who is the principal administrator of her husband's property and the builder of his real home, this authority grows even greater. However, the power of the woman cannot extend to the homes of her married daughters or to the homes of her other female relatives. She may give voice to her opinion on some matter,

/166 cont./

592 but the decisions made must be made by the woman head of the house. Every married woman exercises independently her authority in her home without intereference from the female relatives of her group except when she asks for assistance in an attack from her husband. On the other hand, there is the authority of the man, who is in control of the staff and his nephews and other relatives. He is responsible for the execution of all male work, as much for his own personal duties as for the work force he has at his disposal for such a purpose. When he is absent his authority and responsibility are taken over by his eldest maternal nephew.

In case the father lives at home, that is, in the house of his first wife, it is he who makes arrangements, gives orders, carries out the organization of administrative life, the daily pasturing chores, and the periodic and occasional agricultural work done by /members of/ his sex. In his absence he may be replaced by his sons, in chronological order. As at the present time male emigration is so widespread and as in general the father is periodically absent on pasturing activities or on his visits to his other women (polygamy), the woman who has no responsible son may on her own account order work to be done, even if such work comes /167/ under the husband's jurisdiction. Once the boys are grown they begin to supplant the maternal uncle or the father in masculine work. Also, as they grow older and become adults, family authority gradually loses its power over them. The boy begins to make [678] his will felt and to take the initiative, but he must be responsible for his actions, because Guajiro law establishes culpability extensible to the consanguineous relatives when any social or cultural rule has been violated. The boy, then, becomes gradually independent from direct family tutelage and is able to plan his life in accordance with the cultural norms of the society and within these to develop his own personality. He does not attain absolute independence. He breaks away from the family discipline represented in the person of his mother,

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592 his maternal uncle, and his most immediate relatives in the family circle, but he is required to obey those legal forms which offer him the protection and mutual aid of the same relatives from whom he is becoming emancipated. This freedom is limited for the male to economic independence and his first marriage. For the woman, relative emancipation from the family comes with marriage; even after being initiated she must submit, perhaps more than before, to the prescriptions and orders of her relatives; but on being married she becomes somewhat free from direct family control, although she also has to respect new cultural patterns and a new authority: that of her husband.

Once the daughters are married the mother, although she may try to exercise dominion over the running of the homes that these are establishing, must in any case make her voice heard; her influence is felt through the conduct of the daughters. If the new couple goes to live with the mother, according to [184] the traditional form of matrilocal residence, or if the newly married sons take their brides to their maternal home, a common occurrence among mestizos, the mother does not hand over the reins of family administration, either to her daughters or to her daughters-in-law. When she dies and each one of these forms her own home, each will take on the direction of the family administration and will follow the same norms. With respect to the matter of marital authority, we abstain from repeating the observations already made and refer the reader to the chapter, Marriage.

The authority that Guajiro fathers have over their children depends on their position before them. They are not considered consanguineous relatives, and consequently their authority is very limited. The children may not take their fathers' side for this reason, but they must respect them as older persons. The father is limited in his rights by the maternal uncle who takes his place and by the mother. He may not hurt his children because he has no rights over them, since they are not of his blood. Nevertheless, in a certain way he

1:Gutierrez de Pineda--205 E-5 (1947) 1950 SC13 Goajiro SC13

/167 cont./

592 has some authority over them because, if during his absence some carelessness on /168/ the part of the mother causes the death of one of them, he can collect a compensation payment from his wife's maternal relatives. But at the present time, among mestizos and especially among those who contract Catholic marriages, the father's authority is immediately felt in accordance with the custom of our culture. He represents the home and the children before the other individuals of the social totality as was previously done by the uncle.

This authority has reference not only to the home and to the compliance with certain norms of courtesy, such as those of hospitality for example, but also to the decisive events in family life, such as the marriage of a son, the compensation payment for an offense, the purchase of a daughter, etc. His will is consulted, and the wife obeys it, even against the personal insistence of her mother; in other words, the mother loses authority and responsibility with regard to her children, who now use the father's name and with this the new ascribed kin relationship. /169/

XI

THE CLAN

614 On studying clan organization we wish to present it as it apparently must have functioned in the past and to show the changes it has undergone up to the present. To this end, we make use of mythology to clarify happenings in the remote past.

614 A story from Upper La Guajira runs as follows: "Not far
T73 from Nazaret there is a hill lying behind Ihojoro. There
539 Mareiwa was born under an olive tree. There he was found as a tiny infant, and he kept growing and growing as rapidly as

3: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

been completely tamed by the Venezuelans. He, with of course his followers, have found honesty the best policy after all, and are now reformed and peaceful members of society, returned to herding and agriculture. This shows what can be done with firmness combined with a little judicious tact and management.

The Indians build no elaborate dwelling-houses. Their best ranchos are simple, and constructed in a short time. The roof is covered with the split woody core of a tall euphorbia. This makes a good cool roof, impervious to water and easily removed when the family flits. The rancho is seldom used for sleeping purposes; for this numerous poles (tokopui) are firmly fixed all over the place for swinging hammocks, often three and four to one pole, and crossing each other. Sometimes two and three sleep in a hammock. Further off other poles (palémoiro) are found, to tie animals up at, and a small corral or sheep-pen for the goats and sheep is also indispensable in every well-regulated family. The site of a rancho is always carefully chosen, much strategy being displayed in locating the whole, so that each rancho covers the other without itself being seen. Although villages are never attempted, yet a family rarely lives isolated. Everybody lolsters himself with that laziest of Goajiro society, his relations. Their ranchos are always within gunshot distance, so as mutually to defend each other. One is invariably on high ground to dominate the country, the rest are hidden away in nooks and corners where least expected. If one rancho is seen, others are close at hand. In case of attack, this system prevents a whole family being exterminated. One or two ranchos may be taken, but the rest escape or fly to the rescue, as the case may be. At all events the avenger, so dear to the Indian, survives. Each rancho has a distinct name. Besides, every Indian who is anybody has several ranchos spread over the country. To collect the names of the ranchos would be paramount to taking a census of the territory. The following are well-known ranchos, with usually some half-caste from Riohacha trading with the Indians. In the Macuira range, six miles from Punta Espada, is Guazuryá, at the foot of Aru-ara; chief, Caijana, a Jirua. Westwards, close to the sea-shore, Chiuuuao; chief, José Agustin, a Jallariá, a half-caste speaking good Spanish. At the foot of Itujuro, Magualpá, situated on a slight eminence eight miles from the sea, and is an important trading station. Paraliero, native name of Puerto Estrella, boasts twelve houses and three iron warehouses, with always two or three Riohachenos resident there. The chief, Pedro Quinto, is Epieyu, but his sister Mauricia is the virtual ruler. Inland, 16 miles from Bahia Honda or Taroa is Meruuay, another large trading station, usually with two or three Riohachenos established there. The eight ranchos are well located on a plain between Macuira and Parashi. The chief, Saipa, is Epieyu. This is one of the most central stations in the Goajiro, and is surrounded by several important plains; it is probably

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
SC13 Goajiro SC13

the site of the old Spanish settlement San Juan de Ipapa. On the west side of the Parashi Hills in the plains is another well-known central trading station Joroy; chief, Majutó, an Ipuana; probably near the old site of the Spanish settlement Moscota. In the neighbourhood are: Guarirpanturi; chief, Conoón, an Ipuana. A Dutchman from Aruba has lived here many years, and has become quite an Indian. Alpiapá, a few ranchos on an eminence commanding the whole valley. The Indians here are rather mixed, but the chief is a Pushaina. The well Kapaulera, at the base of the hill, is the finest I saw, and surrounded with rich green vegetation similar to that of Macuira. Katunasió, the most inland station. It is generally the traders that make a rancho known, for the Indians do everything they can to keep their abodes, if not secret, at any rate as much in the dark as possible. The plains being more unsettled than the mountain district, traders do not venture to establish themselves in the interior, as at Morunay or Joroy, so few ranchos are known. The most important place in the Lower Goajira is Guinoua, midway between Riohacha and the Venezuelan town of Las Guardias or Santa Teresa. Paraguaipoa, the new Venezuelan military colony, founded in 1882, counts already 50 houses. It is situated in the plains 12 miles in advance of Santa Teresa, which it completely covers. The garrison at present consists of 30 men, well mounted and found in every respect, under the orders of a commander, two secretaries, and two interpreters; the latter for the purpose of taking statistics as to trade, &c. Altogether it is a model establishment, and does honour to the Government of Venezuela. The entire population of the Goajira may be about 20,000; it does not exceed 25,000, and is not increasing.

As regards manners and customs and the way they enforce their old peculiar laws, these Goajiros are particularly interesting. Of course, like all Indians, they are singularly proficient in begging, stealing, and drinking, but besides these capital vices they add a fourth, that is demanding compensation, tear- or blood-money—principal cause of all the strife and blood feuds between the castes, and an everlasting danger to Indians and strangers alike. Whereas about one-quarter of the male population die a violent death from its result, another quarter are killed by drink and its effects. The laws that govern these compensation cases are very intricate, their number is legion. First is the terrible law of retribution, that makes a whole caste responsible for the acts of any single member. As the Spaniards or white men are considered by the Indians as belonging to one large family, the country is very unsafe for travelling, for every white man is a sort of hostage for the good behaviour of the others. If an Indian should be killed in a quarrel by a white man, the life of another white man, living leagues away, depends upon whether the foe (relations of the dead Indian) or a friend brings the news first. Many an innocent unconscious trader has been sacrificed at one end of the peninsula for a foul murder committed at the other end.

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13

water hut is given an herbal purgative. Her hair is cut short. Generally 581
several of her relatives stay around the door of the hut, and strangers and men with an eye to matrimony may look in. During this period the girl is taught the duties of married life and such skills as weaving, sewing, and making hammocks. When she emerges, stout and bleached, a special festival is held, when she resumes her ornaments and puts on the adult clothes that she has made during her confinement. She is now considered marriageable. The length of her confinement depends on her status, though theoretically it lasts until her hair again reaches the [557
nape of her neck. Poor girls are secluded only a few weeks, rich girls 556]
up to 2 years.

Sexual life and marriage.—Little is known about the sexual life of 536
the *Goajiro*. A certain amount of promiscuous love making occurs among the young people at the biweekly festivals. Dances also provide an opportunity for sexual advances.

There are some male transvestites who carry on only female activities 538
and are ridiculed by the men.

When a man desires to marry he sends his father or uncle as inter- 584
mediary, then pays a bride price which has been set by the girl's relatives. 583
The payment is usually in cattle, but goats, pearls, liquor, cotton cloth, 602
and gold ornaments also are used. The father retains the purchase price only when his first daughter marries; the income of subsequent marriages goes to the girl's senior maternal uncles. The mother also receives part of the income. A son obtains the cattle for the bride payment from the increase of his father's herds.

Intermarriage between the sibs is frequent, and many of the *Goajiro* 582
give their daughters to "civilizados" from Maracaibo and Río Hacha, who pay higher prices and find such a tie with the Indians useful in their trading relations.

The marriage ceremony consists of a series of feasts and exchanges of 585
presents between the two families. The wedding night is spent at the [531]
rancheria of the bride's mother, but the nuptial hammock (specially woven by the female relatives of the bride) is hung from a tree some distance away from the house. For a period of days and even months the bridegroom leaves his bride at dawn and returns only after sunset. In [604]
this way the groom shows respect to his mother-in-law.

Polygyny is general. The number of wives depends on the economic 595
status of the husband, some men having as many as 20. Each wife lives in her own house, where her husband occasionally visits her. The man, as head of the polygynous household, supervises the daily slaughter of [542]
animals and the distribution of meat and corn to each household according to the number of its members.

If a wife shirks her domestic duties she may be divorced and her hus- 586
band may claim the return of the bride price cattle, plus their increase and

/164 cont./

592 602 611 3. In the collateral line the mother's sisters and their descendants.

4. His closest male relatives, his mother's brothers and those of his grandmother and great-grandmother, etc., in the maternal line.

5. The sons of the sisters of his mother, his grandmother, his great-grandmother, etc.

In this way, the kinship ties of the newborn child extend back indefinitely along the female line and extend forward in the same manner.

With respect to the kinship with individuals of the male sex, this is limited to the collateral branches and to the sons of female relatives. That is, the newborn child does not count male ascendants or the children of his male relatives as his own relatives. Furthermore, if the new baby is a boy he will not in the future count his own direct descendants as relatives.

592 593 It would be extremely difficult to make a separate study of the exercise of authority in the small family or in the extended family, because these two bodies so intimately interpenetrated due to their members living together that any analysis of them separately would be inaccurate; also, because of the effects of acculturation, the exercise of authority based on the consanguineous unit stemming from the traditional legal union reflects forms different from those developed according to legendary cultural patterns.

593 These two extremes -- traditional culture and culture influenced by whites -- cover an infinite range of varieties difficult to classify and must be studied as special cases (Cf. Marriage).

593 178 596 It is essential to recognize that in the civilizado-type home the influence of the maternal family tends to be nullified, a very slow process with regard to the totality of all the members, but a very rapid and effective one with regard to the maternal uncle, for in this case there occurs the phenomenon of transfer: All his influence passes to the father, who from that moment acquires and exercises all the authority delegated by Guajiro